[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prised, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

166

road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

434 464 [197] 465 [434] 434 464 [465] 177 434 464 [452] 434 463 489 494

[p. 15-B]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [55] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159] years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551] Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212] tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191] he now lives with his six children, who help him [542] cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342] covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough [352] platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353] are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241] and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231] a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the [166] Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285] Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the [435] time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551] native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [542] and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352] and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241] grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231] about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438] milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231] farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organised form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SK7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

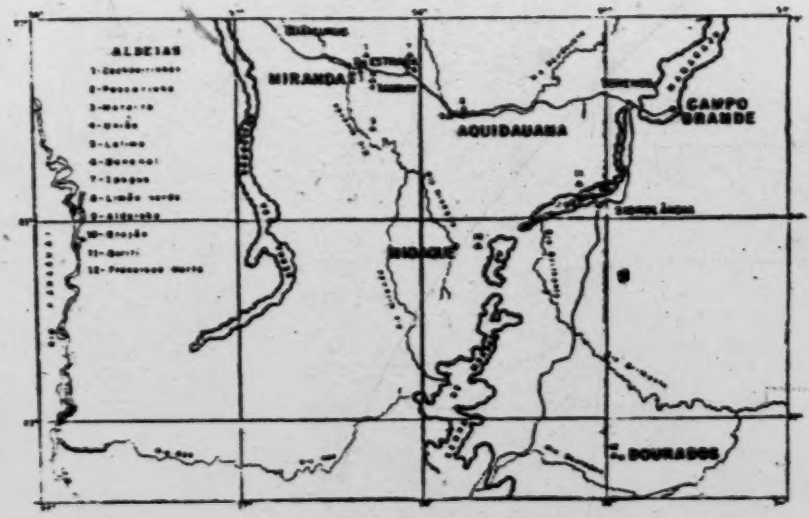
[82] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[574] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the
● 166 time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no
361 matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places
178 were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção
648 aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the
[657] remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[Text continues on p. 104]

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[66] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

Cachoeirinha

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed.... Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the community. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[66] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[164] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

3:Oliveira--112 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

178 cont.

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./ reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells, of which there are not more than three for both villages; and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

361 312 [162] 128 184 [648]

Lalima

621 162 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the community. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from

173 166 648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295 298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

36/ The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
36/ the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[348] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[432] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikinâu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 The first accurate census data available compel us to 621 deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [113] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

[Banana/ and Ipegue]

/83 cont./ Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One concludes that the population decrease occurred only in Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic increase, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

/84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

Terena

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the

175 361 621 [162] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, [166] [648] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any 175 621 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922, 648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. [162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among [166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further [162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 621 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

[Buriti]

193 cont.

175
621
648
423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175
621

probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

[162]
[166]
[648]

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,

175
361

up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] [621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[164] [166] the communities to change. The older communities, such as those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./
184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
527 as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as tra-
ditional play activities performed on festive days, such as
Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
648 These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is